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ABSTRACT

Influences on the political and economic status of women in Canada between World Wars I and II are discussed, with emphasis on the struggle to enfranchise women on the provincial level, legislative precedents, and the relationship between educational achievement and economic opportunity. Data are derived from historical accounts; trade union annals; government decrees such as the War Time Elections Act (1917), the Military Voters Act (1917), and the Women's Minimum Wage Act (1935); records from activist organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the National Council of Women, the League for Women's Rights, and the Association of Women Property Owners; the Department of Labor; national and provincial records of women in public office; and court cases, including the "persons" case--a 1916 reversal of a British Common Law decision in 1876 that women were "persons in matters of pains and penalties but not in matters of rights or privileges." Findings from the overview of data from these and other sources indicated that womens' political and economic advancement during the period between the two world wars was determined largely by two factors. They were the conservative nature of the social milieu (and, in Quebec, the conservatism of the Catholic church) and forces generated in the economy (overall loss of jobs during the depression and a corresponding increase in outright discrimination against women whose search for employment was considered as tantamount to taking jobs away from men, token employment of women in many industries, and apparent economic advancement which disappeared in the face of inflation). The conclusion is that while social and economic development combined with the efforts of women to promote their own political and economic welfare led to real and significant political advances, they produced only illusory economic gains. (DB)

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UP FROM SUFFRAGE: CANADA

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The purpose of this paper will be to identify some of the developments which affected the political and economic status of Canadian women between World Wars I and II. Particular attention will be paid to the struggle to enfranchise women on the provincial level and to the "persons" case, both of which were indispensable to the women's rights movement. A discussion of Canadian education will be used to show that, for women, educational achievements did not correlate very closely with greater economic opportunity. The Canadian civil service system will also be examined because it, as one of the nation's larger employers, provided the "unofficial" guidelines for public and private companies employing women. Finally, a review of the Canadian trade union movement will be used to estimate the extent to which women were able to use the movement to expand economic opportunities during the 1920's and to protect jobs during the Depression.

In the United States, the 19th Amendment to the Constitution was the culmination of events that had begun at Seneca Falls in 1848. As a result of this Amendment and because of the nature of the American constitutional system, American women would never again have to fear that they would be disfranchised on the basis of sex in national, state or local elections. On the other hand, in Canada, because of the nature of the

federal system, the enfranchisement of women on the federal level, by acts of the Dominion Parliament in 1917 and 1918, did not result in the enfranchisement of women on the provincial or municipal levels. Thus, while American women turned their attention to other facets of societal life affecting their political and economic status after 1920, many politically active women in Canada, particularly those in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Quebec, continued with their struggles to attain suffrage rights in the provinces and in the municipalities. These struggles did not culminate until the Province of Quebec enfranchised women in 1940.[1]

Some Canadian women were enfranchised on the national level during World War I when Ottawa, in 1917, enacted the Military Voters Act and the War Time Elections Act. The general purposes of these acts were plain and unmistakable: they gave the vote to those who supported the Government's war measures and took it away from those who opposed them, and created a floating military vote, a large part of which would almost certainly support the Government candidates for office.[2] The Military Votes Act enfranchised all Canadian men and women on active service. The War Time Elections Act enfranchised the wives, widows, and other female relatives of men overseas. In 1918, the vote was extended to all women who were otherwise qualified.[3]

The suffrage successes which Canadian women had achieved by the end of World War I were the result of the efforts of diverse organizations and persons. The first organization which had supported the cause of political equality had been the Women's Christian Temperance Union.[4] The most influential organization had been the National Council

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of Women.[5] The Council itself had never been a suffrage organization but pressure groups affiliating with it, such as the Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association, convinced the Council to endorse the women's suffrage movement at its 1910 Halifax Conference.[6] The Protestant clergy of the several English-speaking provinces and many labor organizations had also been powerful allies of the suffragists.[7] The last great auxiliary of the women in their struggle for the franchise had been the press. John W. Dafoe's Manitoba Free Press and George Chipman's Grain Growers' Guide had strongly supported the movement.[8] In Quebec, La Presse had financed radio time for propaganda done by the League for Women's Rights for five years during the early 1930's.[9] And, such papers as the Montreal Gazette, Daily Star, and Herald, the Toronto Globe, World and Citizen, and the St John Telegraph had not only given suffrage bills and activities complete coverage, but had often extended strong editorial support.[10]

At the beginning of 1919, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Quebec had still not enfranchised women. After 1925, only the women of Quebec were left in the position of possessing the federal franchise, but not the provincial franchise. Because of the size and nature of Quebec in the Canadian federation, the struggle to enfranchise women in Quebec was the most significant of those waged in the recalcitrant provinces.

The first organizations to raise the question of women's suffrage in Quebec had been the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Montreal Council of Women. After achieving some limited success in

promoting economic benefits for women, both disbanded in 1919.

In 1921, the Federation Nationale Saint Jean Baptiste took up the struggle. Internal political difficulties, however, led to the almost immediate break-up of the Federation. One faction, under the leadership of Iola St. Jean, formed L'Alliance Canadienne pour le Vote des Femmes. The Association of Women Property Owners and the Montreal Business and Professional Club assumed the leadership of the English faction. The content of the split in the Federation is not exactly clear, but it seems that L'Alliance was strictly French Canadian in membership, somewhat more radical than the Association, and enjoyed a large working-class base.[11] On the other hand, both factions were essentially urban and confined almost exclusively to Montreal. Opposing L'Alliance and the English faction on the suffrage issue was the very powerful Federation of Catholic Workers which, having the support of Quebec's conservative Roman Catholic Church, successfully blocked all attempts to grant women even limited voting rights until 1938.[12]

By 1929, the struggle to enfranchise Quebec women was directed, for the most part, by the League for Women's Rights which, under the presidency of Mme. Therese Casgrain, had become the symbol of the Quebec feminist movement.[13] As a result of the League's lobbying efforts, the women of Quebec moved closer to enfranchisement. A strong gain for women in the professional field was registered in 1930 when the Society of Chartered Accountants, responding to League pressure, decided to ignore the legislature and accepted women into its membership.[14] In 1932, Mme. Casgrain, supported by Mlle. Irene Joly of the Association of Women Property Owners,

succeeded in pressuring the alderman of Montreal to give the municipal franchise to married women.[15] In the early 1930's, the League began a campaign to educate the women of rural Quebec. Under the direction of Mme. Casgrain, a fifteen minute program known as "Femina" was sent out weekly over station CKAC. In 1935, the League succeeded in bringing school teachers under the protection of the Women's Minimum Wage Act. In 1938, the League won a new ally in the rural districts when Mme. Casgrain was invited to address the annual convention of the Women's Institutes of Quebec.[16]

As the struggle over the enfranchisement reached its conclusion in 1940, the Roman Catholic Church of Quebec launched a vigorous counter-attack. Rodrique Cardinal Villeneuve, speaking for himself and his bishops, issued an official communique expressing the unalterable opposition of the Church and its hierarchy to the enfranchisement of Women in the province. He argued that (1) the franchise would militate against family union, (2) the franchise would expose women to all the passions of elections, (3) the majority of women in the province did not want the franchise, and (4) social and economic reforms could be as well achieved by women's organizations operating outside the realm of politics.[17] Despite the opposition of Quebec's Roman Catholic Church, Premier Godbout successfully guided the women's voting bill through the Quebec assembly in 1940.[18]

"Generally speaking, the women of Canada embarked upon the decade of the Twenties under the happy misconception that they had achieved ... the right to hold office in most jurisdictions and legislative bodies

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in the nation...."[19] In 1916, Manitoba, through the efforts of Lillian Thomas, Dr. Mary Crawford and Nellie McClung, became the first province to grant women the right to vote. But in Manitoba, as would be true in the other provinces, women quickly learned that getting the right to vote was one thing, getting a woman elected to public office was another.

> ... it should be stated ... that the task of women advocates of political equality was made doubly onerous by the apathy, if not the outright hostility, which they [the suffragists] encountered quite widely among members of their own sex. Suffrage forces constituted but a small minority of Canadian women throughout the entire campaign (except possibly on the Prairies), and drew most of their active recruits in general from that small segment of the feminine population which had a fair degree of economic independence. Outstanding suffragists were most frequently professional and self-employed women, or the wives of men with comfortable incomes.[20]

Between 1921 and 1941, Manitoba never voted a woman into the Dominion House of Commons and elected only two to the provincial legislature - Mrs. Edith Rogers (1920-1932) and Mrs. Salome Halldorson (1936-1941). Prince Edward Island never sent a woman to the legislature between 1922 and 1941.[21] Between 1919 and 1934, the women of New Brunswick were the anomaly of being the only one's in Canada who could vote but could not hold office.[22] In 1921, Ontario sent Agnes Macphail as the first woman to the Dominion Parliament.[23] At the provincial level, however, Ontarians exhibited greater conservatism. Not until 1940 were any women elected to the provincial legislature. Mrs. M. O. Ramsland was the first woman lawmaker in Saskatchewan (1919). After her defeat at the polls in 1925, however, no other woman entered the provincial legislature until 1944.

Somewhat better records concerning the matter of electing women to public office were set in Alberta and British Columbia. Between 1921

in 1941, Alberta sent nine women to the provincial assembly and one to the Dominion Parliament - Mrs. Cora Casselman. In 1921, the government of provincial Prime Minister Greenfield was the first to appoint a woman, the Honorable Irene Parlby, to a cabinet post. Between 1921 and 1945, seven women served in the provincial assembly of British Columbia.

While the struggles to enfranchise women on the provincial and national levels continued, the "persons case" was evolving into one of the nation's most celebrated legal issues. It had begun on July 1, 1916, when Judge Emily Murphy, hearing her first case and finding the defendant guilty as charged, was abruptly challenged by the defendant's attorney, Eardley Jackson, to prove that she was legally a person, and therefore entitled to take the bench.[24] He explained that under a British common law decision of 1876, women were "persons in matters of pains and penalties but not in matters of rights or privileges."[25] Unsuccessful in his argument before Judge Murphy, he appealed her decision to the Alberta Supreme Court. The Court denied Jackson's appeal, thus making women legally persons in the province.[26] The principle established by the Supreme Court, however, did not extend beyond the boundary of Alberta.

Some of the nation's feminists, believing that the Alberta decision was a significant political and legal victory for women, decided to exploit the precedent set. In 1919, the Federation of Women's Institutes adopted a resolution challenging Prime Minister Borden to summon a woman to the Senate knowing full-well that section 24 of the British North America Act, which read

The Governor-General shall from time to time, in the Queen's

> name, by instrument under the Great Seal of Canada, summon qualified persons to the Senate; and, subject to the provisions of this Act, every person so summoned shall become and be a member of the Senate and a Senator...,

had been used by the federal government and the courts to deny women the legal status of persons.[27] Other women's organizations, including the National Council of Women, endorsed the Federation's resolution. The Borden government, however, would not accept the challenge.

In 1927, Nellie McClung and four other Alberta women sought an official interpretation of section 24 from the nation's Supreme Court. After five weeks of deliberations, the Court ruled that " women, children, criminals and idiots" were not legally "persons."[28] The decision was appealed to the British Privy Council. On October 18, 1929, Lord Sankey announced on behalf of the Council that the word "person" as used in section 24 applied to persons of both sexes and that women could be named Senators.[29] A significant decision had been delivered affecting the legal and political status of women in Canada.

The political victories that Canadian women had achieved between the wars were not easily transferred into economic gains. Even during the 1920's, a decade of relative prosperity, Canadian women found that they were not moving much closer toward achieving economic goals such as equal pay for equal work. In fact, such goals proved to be as elusive as ever. But they did begin to identify some of the institutions, such as education and the federal civil service, which were acting to hold back the rate of their "apparent" economic advancement. Needless to say, during the Depression, economic discriminations against women, particularly working women, increased.

Education had been used successfully by many minority groups in Canada to promote upward socio-economic mobility. Among the groups that have used this traditional method have been the women. During World War I, women such as Marjory MacMurchy had pleaded with Ottawa, and the provincial governments, to provide more education for girls.[30] She had argued that they were as much assets of the nation as boys. Assuming that Ottawa would grant her request, she issued a mild challenge to the Borden government to go further by asking it to create a Department of Home Economics and to give more support to the organizations of Homemaker's Clubs for housewives throughout the nation.[31] There is no evidence, however, to show that either the federal or provincial governments acted upon these or similar requests.

The statistical data contained in Table 1 indicate that more girls attended school between 1921 and 1941 than boys. Nevertheless, the

TABLE 1

School Age Population 5-14 Years of Age[32]

	1921		1931		1941	
	Population	Percent in School	Population	Percent in School	Population	Percent in School
M	1,744,263	49.2	2,104,409	51.6	2,168,564	50.3
F	1,730,676	49.3	2,053,167	52.1	2,130,594	50.7

conclusions that one might want to draw from Table 1 must be tempered by the findings of Canadian sociologists which indicate that, between the wars, boys were simply encouraged to get a job and the lack of schooling did not matter.[33] Commenting upon the type of education thought to be

Ideally suited for girls in English-speaking Canada during the 1930's, Rex Lucas wrote that most Anglophone parents wanted their daughters to have "a short, inexpensive, post-high school training to provide some skill and a sense of independence."[34]

Despite the increasing number of girls attending school, Table 2 (see page 11) shows very clearly that education, alone or in combination with other societal factors, was not able to raise the occupational levels of women. On the other hand, it does indicate quite strongly that the general prosperity of the 1920's and the Depression of the 1930's was mirrored in the number of women employed and the type of employment accepted by them. And, despite popular opinion, a closer study of statistical information on the female labor force in Canada does not indicate that the twentieth century has witnessed any steady upward movement of women in the work world.[35] In fact, the proportion of female professionals was lower in 1961 than at any time in the century since 1901.[36] The only major occupational increase in female participation has been in the clerical catagory. In 1901, only 22% in this catagory were female; but by 1961, the proportion had risen to 62%.

Nonetheless, many Canadian women labored under the illusion that with more and better education for girls would come greater socio-economic mobility. For example, in the early 1920's, the United Women's Educational Federation of Ontario adopted a platform which assumed that education correlated very closely to economic opportunity and social mobility. In part, it called for (1) education for women on all social and political

TABLE 2

Percent of the Labor Force 15 Years of Age and Older by Major Occupational Divisions[37]

	1921		1931		1941	
Occupation	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Proprietary & Managerial	8.2	2.0	6.4	8.2	6.2	2.0
Professional	3.0	19.1	3.7	17.8	4.5	15.7
Clerical	4.7	18.7	4.4	17.7	4.5	18.3
Agricultural	37.9	3.7	33.7	3.6	31.5	2.3
Manufacturing & Mechanical	10.3	17.8	11.3	12.7	16.2	15.4
Commercial	4.5	8.4	4.8	8.3	4.5	8.7
Financial	0.7	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.7	0.1
Service	3.5	26.8	3.0	33.9	4.6	34.4
Personal	2.2	25.8	3.0	33.8	3.2	34.2
Laborers	11.4	0.1	13.2	1.8	7.6	1.4
All Others	9.9	0.4	10.3	1.9	12.1	1.6

subjects affecting their interests, (2) free and compulsory education until the age of eighteen, (3) uniform methods of teaching in all the provinces, and (4) equal pay for equal work.[38] Despite its obvious interest in promoting the upward socio-economic mobility of women through education, the data in Table ? indicate that the efforts of such organizations were of dubious value.

Between the wars, women found no solace in the employment of the federal bureaucracy. In The Biography of an Institution, Hodgetts et al. concluded that

> Until very recently, the Government in general and the Civil Service in particular, never considered women as employees to be treated on an equal basis with men. ...there was never any particular attempt to hide the discrimination against women which was, and is, built into the very fabric of civil service legislation and personnel practice.[39]

Despite some of the genuinely revolutionary features of the Civil Service Act of 1918, the provisions concerning the treatment of female employees were not among its more audicious aspects. For example, when the Arthur Young classification experts recommended salaries geared to pre-World War I levels, the bonuses granted were given only to "heads of households," thus effectively cutting off women employees from the equal pay for equal work doctrine.[40] In 1921, the Civil Service Commission placed formal restrictions on the hiring of married women. Only if women could prove that they were self-supporting and only if a sufficient number of qualified male candidates was lacking, were married women to receive appointments, and then principally to temporary positions.[41] Women, already holding permanent positions, who married had to resign.[42] This did not

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mean that married women were barred from civil service employment. For a number of years, the Civil Service Commission had found it necessary to recruit and retain married women as stenographers, typists, office equipment operators and clerks.[43]

During the Depression, married women employed in the federal civil service were treated as a marginal group with less right to employment than men. The inevitable reduction in the size of the civil service work force resulted in greater numbers of married women losing their jobs than men. Some married women took action to prevent their dismissal. In 1938, the Pouliot Committee revealed that at least 189 married women were working using their maiden names.[44] Despite such tactics and the fact that the proportion of overall female civil service appointments dropped only slightly from the 1920's, the more significant fact is that the number of permanent female appointments dropped more sharply than the proportion of permanent male appointments.[45]

World War II turned things around for women in the civil service. Suddenly it became their patriotic duty to enter the civil service and to perform male jobs. Whereas in 1938 only 16.5% of all appointments went to women, by 1943, the figure had escalated to 65.4%.[46]

Many women, impatient with education as a vehicle to provide upward socio-economic mobility, and cognizant of the economic discriminations in such important institutions as the civil service, turned to trade unionism for solutions to their economic problems. The Calgary Women's Labor League, organized in June, 1919, was the prototype

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of the postwar women's trade union in Canada. Its membership was limited principally to the wives of men active in the Calgary trade union movement, to some stenographers and school teachers, and to a few politically-minded women. The League's objectives were to (1) help working women who were victims of the present economic system by encouraging them to organize, (2) increase cooperative action among workers and to promote their solidarity, and (3) influence public opinion to a sympathetic understanding of the labor movement.[47] Unfortunately, the League's influence was minimal beyond the boundary of the province.

Significant movement toward organizing Canada's working women occured in 1921. The National Women's Trade Union League, having the support of the Trades and Labour Congress and the American Federation of Labor, undertook a well-publicized campaign to organize women throughout the nation. It enticed women to join by promoting a platform calling for (1) equal pay for equal work, (2) an eight hour day, (3) a living wage, and (4) full citizenship for women.[48] In addition, several Canadian women's trade unions affiliated with the International Federation of Working Women in order to (1) promote trade union organization among women, (2) develop an international policy giving special consideration to the needs of women and children and to examine closely all projects for legislation proposed by the League of Nations, particularly by the International Labor Conferences, and (3) promote the appointment of women to represent organized working women on all organizations and committees dealing with questions affecting the welfare of the worker.[49]

In 1924, the Canadian Federation of Women's Labour Leagues was

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founded. By 1929, the Federation claimed to have sixty-four women's labor leagues in affiliation.[50] Its platform called for (1) the eight hour day and the forty-four hour week, (2) equal pay for equal work, (3) shorter hours for agricultural workers, nurses, and others whose occupations did not fall within the scope of laws relating to women in industry, (4) a minimum wage for women, (5) the absolute prohibition of night work, (6) maternity leave with pay and a guarantee against dismissal, (7) the appointment of women factory inspectors, and (8) equal unemployment benefits for both men and women.[51]

To secure exact figures on the number of organized women in Canada, and thus to determine the success of trade union promotional activities designed to organize women, is impossible because many unions did not keep complete statistical profiles of their membership. Of the ninety-eight international labor organizations operating in Canada in 1921, only nine were able to comply with the Department of Labour's directive to supply data on female membership.[52] The nine reported having 7,689 female members in a total international membership of 222,896.[53] The non-international and regional labor unions kept somewhat more complete records. Three non-international unions reported having 262 women in their membership of 24,480.[54] Catholic trade unions and others reported having1,296 female members out of a total membership of 45,000.[55] The Department of Labour figures for 1922 were somewhat discouraging to labor organizers. They showed 354 less women in unions than the number reported in 1921.[56]

In 1930, the Department of Labour, responding to pressure from

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several directions, asked the trade unions to provide it with more information concerning their female membership. The returns, in part, showed that ninety worker organizations had 6,684 female members distributed throughout the provinces as follows:[57]

Province	Number of Women in Trade Unions
Ontario	2572
Quebec	1916
Manitoba	759
British Columbia	671
Alberta	605
Saskatchewan	81
New Brunswick	53
Nova Scotia	26
Prince Edward Island	1

In 1931, the Department of Labour reported the distressing fact that trade union membership among women had falled to 3,358.[58] This evidently reflected the fact that the nation was beginning to feel the effects of the Depression and that women, like members of other minorities, were the last hired and the first fired.[59]

The data provided by the Department of Labour, as tentative as they might be, indicate very strongly that the movement to organize women in Canada mirrored the nature of the general Canadian economy more closely than the organizing activities of trade unions such as the Trades and Labour Congress or the National Women's Trade Union League.

Despite the entry of women into the trade unions, with the coming

of the Depression, the organized workingwoman found that she was almost as helpless as her unorganized sister in holding on to the economic gains made during the 1920's. For example, an agreement between the Amalgated Clothing Workers and the manufacturers of Toronto, which had prevailed from 1922 to 1929, had established a weekly wage rate of $30 to $40 for skilled male workers and rates slightly in excess of $20 per week for female workers.[60] With the coming of the Depression, the earnings and the standard of living for clothing workers were progressively reduced by a combination of unemployment, short time and wage reductions. By August, 1935, wage reductions and short time had cut weekly earnings for most unionized men and women to no more than $10 to $20.[61] But among non-union clothing workers, the situation was somewhat worse. Men were commonly paid $10 to $15 per week for full time work while women received on $8 to $10.[62] Thus, as the nation slipped deeper into the Depression, the wage gap that had existed between the organized and unorganized woman worker began to narrow. Some have speculated that the responsibility for this rested with the attempted entry into the labor pool of women over forty years of age who, never having worked outside the home and, thus, possessing no marketable skills, greatly increased the competition among members of their own sex for the few available jobs.[63]

Prime Minister Bennett's and King's efforts to mitigate the effects of the Depression paid scant attention to the economic plight of women. As a result of this neglect, many women became disenchanted with both the Conservative and Liberal Parties and joined the "parties of protest" that were spawned during the Depression. Women such as Mrs.

Edith Rogers were among the first to join Prime Minister Aberhart of Alberta in spreading the leftist Social Credit gospel throughout the province.[64] In 1932, Agnes Macphail helped to draft the first manifesto of the socialist oriented Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. In 1934, women played a role in the formation of Bennett's leftward-leaning Reconstruction Party. And, in 1939, numerous women and women's organizations joined C. George McCullagh's short-lived, quasi-political party, the Leadership League.[65]

Despite the efforts of Canadian women to improve their socio-economic condition through participation and agitation in the traditional political and economic institutions, the nature of the social milieu and the forces generated in the economy determined women's political and economic positions more than any other factors. This should not be taken to mean that the efforts of women to promote their own political and economic welfare was stillborn. Their efforts did lead to real and significant political advances, but only to illusory economic gains.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Except in Ontario and New Brunswick, the right to hold public office came along with the right to vote.

[2] R. MacGregor Dawson, The Government of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 351. To a large extent, this legislation was aimed at those who were involved in or sympathized with Quebec's "conscription crisis."

[3] In 1920, the Dominion Parliament enacted legislation reaffirming the precedents set in the 1917 and 1918 election laws. On May 9, 1922, one last attack upon the women's franchise was made when Senator L. O. David moved that unmarried women below the age of thirty be disfranchised. The motion was defeated by a vote of 33 to 19.

[4] Catherine Lyle Cleverdon, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 11.

[5] Ibid., p. 12.

[6] Loc. cit.

[7] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[8] Ibid., p. 15.

[9] Loc. cit.

[10] Loc. cit.

[11] Sally Mahood, "The Women's Suffrage Movement in Canada," in Women Unite (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1972), p. 25. The "race issue" has plagued Canadian society since the Conquest. Canadian Anglophones and Francophones have often found it difficult to work together in various organizations.

[12] Loc. cit.

[13] Cleverdon, op. cit., p. 232.

[14] Ibid., p. 237.

[15] Ibid., p. 238.

[16] Ibid., p. 254. In 1938, forty Quebec women were invited to attend the convention of the Liberal Party of Quebec. Several explanations, none wholly satisfactory, are given to explain this action by the Liberal Party. Among them are: (1) the Party might have wanted to revitalize itself after being defeated by the Union Nationale in 1936; (2) the Liberal administra-

tion in Ottawa might have nudged the Liberal Party of Quebec in this direction; and (3) it might have been the influence of Mme. Casgrain whose husband was the Speaker of the Dominion House of Commons. Ibid., p. 253.

[17] Ibid., p. 257.

[18] In 1941, Quebec women registered two important gains. (1) Amendments to the Cities and Towns Act and the Municipal Code gave all women with sufficient property qualifications the right to vote and hold public office. (2) Women won their struggle to be admitted to the Quebec Bar - a struggle begun in 1914 when Mrs. Annie Langstaff had been denied the right to practice in the province.

[19] Sylva M. Gelber, "The Rights of Man and the Status of Women," Hugh C. Arrell Memorial Lecture, McMaster University, November 15, 1973, pp. 11-12.

[20] Cleverdon, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

[21] Ibid., p. 204. The women of Prince Edward Island were enfranchised and given the right to hold public office on May 3, 1922.

[22] Ibid., p. 197. Pressure from New Brunswick's Women's Institutes finally resulted in the province enacting legislation giving women the right to hold public office - March 9, 1934.

[23] Constance McFarland, ed., Canada 1975 (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975) p. 59. Between 1920 and 1945 only five women have been sent to the Dominion House of Commons and two to the Senate. No woman, however, attained cabinet rank in Ottawa during the same period.

[24] Canada, The Canadian Embassy, Canada Today, June, 1975 (Washington, D. C.: Office of Information, 1975), p. 7.

[25] Loc. cit.

[26] Loc. cit.

[27] Dawson, op. cit., p. 549, and MacFarland, op. cit., p. 60.

[28] Canada Today, op. cit., p. 7.

[29] Loc. cit.

[30] Marjory MacMurchy, "Women and the Nation," in The New Era in Canada, ed. John C. Miller (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. 1917), p. 220. Her plea took the form of an open letter to all interested parties.

[31] Ibid., p. 225.

[32] Daniel Kubat and David Thornton, A Statistical Profile of Canadian Society (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Ltd., 1974), p. 116.

[33] Ibid., p. 110.

[34] Rex A. Lucas, Minetown, Milltown, Railtown (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 288.

[35] J. E. Hodgetts, William McClosky, Reginald Whitaker and V. Seymour Wilson, The Biography of an Institution (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), p. 482.

[36] Loc. cit.

[37] Kubat and Thornton, op. cit., pp. 152-155.

[38] Canada, Department of Labour, Labor Organization in Canada: Tenth Annual Report, 1920 (Ottawa: Thomas Mulvey, 1921), p. 104.

[39] Hodgetts et al., op. cit., p. 483.

[40] Ibid., p. 486.

[41] Loc. cit.

[42] Loc. cit.

[43] Loc. cit.

[44] Loc. cit.

[45] Ibid., p. 487.

[46] Loc. cit.

[47] Canada, Department of Labour, Labor Organization in Canada: Eleventh Annual Report, 1921 (Ottawa: Thomas Mulvey, 1922), p. 300.

[48] Ibid., p. 244.

[49] Canada, Department of Labour, Labor Organization in Canada: Twelfth Annual Report, 1922 (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, 1923), p. 203.

[50] Canada, Department of Labour, Labor Organization in Canada: Nineteenth Annual Report, 1929 (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, 1930), p. 242. There is some doubt whether sixty-four women's organizations were actually affiliated with the Federation. The Report uses the word "claims" when referring to the connection between the affiliates and the Federation.

[51] Loc. cit.

[52] Canada, Department of Labour, Labor Organization in Canada: Eleventh Annual Report, op. cit., p. 243.

[53] Ibid., p. 263.

[54] Loc. cit.

[55] Loc. cit.

[56] Canada, Department of Labour, Labor Organization in Canada: Twelfth Annual Report, op. cit., p. 257.

[57] Canada, Department of Labour, Labor Organization in Canada: Twentieth Annual Report, 1930 (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, 1931), p. 192.

[58] Canada, Department of Labour, Labor Organization in Canada: Twenty-First Annual Report, 1931 (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, 1932), p. 214.

[59] On the other hand, World War II promoted unionization among women. The Department of Labour reported that in 1939, 427 locals reported having 22,790 female members distributed throughout the provinces as follows: Quebec - 9882; Ontario - 8142; Manitoba - 1509; British Columbia - 1121; Alberta - 862; New Brunswick - 798; Saskatchewan - 401; Nova Scotia - 124; and Prince Edward Island - 1. See Canada, Department of Labour, Labor Organization in Canada: Twenty-Ninth Annual Report (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1940) p. 182.

In 1941, 435 locals reported having 30,327 female members - 5000 affiliated with the Confederation of Catholic Workers of Canada, over 7000 affiliated with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and about 3000 members of the United Garment Workers of America. The organized women were distributed throughout the provinces as follows: Quebec - 15,229; Ontario - 9879; British Columbia - 1743; Manitoba - 1712; New Brunswick - 431; Nova Scotia - 160; Saskatchewan - 152; and Prince Edward Island - 2. See Canada, Deaprtment of Labor, Labor Organization in Canada (Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, 1943), p. 12.

[60] F. R. Scott and H. M. Cassidy, "Labour Conditions in the Men's Clothing Industry," in The Dirty Thirties, ed. Michiel Horn (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1972), p. 114.

[61] Ibid., p. 119.

[62] Loc. cit.

[63] Canada, Report to the Prime Minister's Office, "Unemployment and Relief in Western Canada, June-August, 1932," Bennett Papers, Vol 781, in The Dirty Thirties, ed. Michiel Horn (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1972), p. 265.

The same conditions were true for women living in and seeking employment in Canada's single industry towns. With the notable exception of the textile mills, most industries in single industry communities

excluded both organized and unorganized women from all work except office routine. The few clerical and service occupations available did not accommodate the number of women seeking employment. This prompted women to emigrate from the single industry towns toward the nation's metropolitan areas where they only exacerbated the unemployment problem. See Lucas, op. cit., pp. 95, 383, for more complete information.

[64] Harold J. Schultz, "Portrait of a Premier: William Aberhart," in Politics of Discontent, eds. Ramsay Cook, Craig Brown and Carl Berger (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 11.

The roles played by women in the "parties of protest" prompted both the Liberal and Conservative Parties to increase the number of political appointments to women. In 1932, Prime Minister Bennett appointed Thais Lacoste, who had founded an unemployment bureau for women during the Depression and had lobbied for wage parity for chairwomen working in Quebec's public buildings, a full delegate to the 13th assembly of the League of Nations. See Jean Bannerman, Leading Ladies (Belleville, Onatrio: Mika Publishing Co., 1977), p. 130. Mrs. Cairine Wilson, who had organized the National Federation of Liberal Women (1920) and the Twentieth Century Clubs (for young Liberals [1920]), was made a Senator in 1930 as the avowed representative of the women of Canada. See Bannerman, op. cit., pp. 237-238, and Dawson, op. cit., p. 311. In 1936, Nellie McClung, long a political activist in the Prairies, was appointed the first woman member of CBC's Board of Governors and in 1938 became one of the nation's delegates to the League of Nations. See Mary Lile Benhan, Nellie McClung (Don Mills, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, Ltd., 1975), pp. 50, 51.

[65] Brian J. Young, "C. George McCullagh and the Leadership League," in Politics of Discontent, eds. Ramsay Cook, Craig Brown and Carl Berger (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 85-101.